

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 A-01 FBO-02 NSC-05 L-03 SY-05 NSCE-00

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DRAFTED BY EUR/SOV:MGARRISON/MLEVITSKY/WEDGAR:LK

APPROVED BY EUR:JAARMITAGE

C - MR. SHINN

A/FBO:MR. STANGE (INFO)

M - MR. BOUC ARD (INFO)

EUR/EX:MISS CLARK (INFO)

S/S: O L. MATT SON

----- 129383

P R 280016Z AUG 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 204783 TOSEC 100239

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ABLD, US, UR

SUBJECT: EMBASSY COMPLEXES IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON:

CALL BY SOVIET CHARGE

REF: STATE 125838

1. SUMMARY. SOVIET CHARGE VORONTSOV AUGUST 25 REQUESTED PERMISSION TO START IMMEDIATELY ON CONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSING PORTION OF THE NEW SOVIET EMBASSY COMPLEX, CLAIMING THAT THIS IS PERMISSIBLE UNDER AN "ORAL UNDERSTANDING" REACHED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE 1972 AGREEMENT ON CONDITIONS OF CONSTRUCTION. HE WARNED THAT IF THEIR REQUEST WERE DENIED, THE ISSUE WOULD BE RAISED BY GROMYKO WITH THE SECRETARY DURING THE UNGA BILATERALS. DEPARTMENT OFFICERS HELD TO POSITION THAT PROVISIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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OF 1969 AND 1972 AGREEMENTS PRECLUDE SOVIETS FROM BEGINNING CONSTRUCTION OF ANY PART OF THEIR COMPLEX UNTIL ALL CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENTS ARE FULFILLED AND US IS READY TO BEGIN CONSTRUCTION IN MOSCOW.

END SUMMARY.

2. EUR/SOV OFFICE DIRECTOR GARRISON CALLED IN SOVIET CHARGE VORONTSOV AUGUST 25 TO DISCUSS SCENARIO LEADING UP TO EXCHANGE OF SITES AND BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION

OF EMBASSY COMPLEXES IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.

3. GARRISON TOLD VORONTSOV THAT THE NEXT STEP INVOLVED SOVIET APPROVAL OF U.S. FINAL DESIGN PLANS, WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE READY FOR SUBMISSION SHORTLY AFTER FIRST OF YEAR. FURTHERMORE, THE 1969 AND 1972 AGREEMENTS ALSO PROVIDED THAT SITES MUST BE READIED FOR CONSTRUCTION, INCLUDING DISCONNECTION OF ALL UNDERGROUND FACILITIES, AND IT WOULD BE WELL TO MAKE SURE THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN MOSCOW. AND WE NEED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF OTHER POINTS BEFORE CONSTRUCTION CAN BEGIN:

-- A. ON LISTS OF IMPORTED MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT TO BE USED (VORONTSOV INTERJECTED THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT HAVE PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD, AS THEY PLAN TO USE ALL AMERICAN MATERIALS EXCEPT FOR SOME DECORATIVE ITEMS.)

-- B. ON TARGET DATES FOR COMPLETION OF BUILDINGS AND AGREEMENT ON SEQUENCE OF CONSTRUCTION.

-- C. ON DATE OF INITIATION OF CONSTRUCTION, WHICH WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY EXCHANGE OF NOTES COVERING ALSO THE FORMAL EXCHANGE OF SITES.

4. VORONTSOV SAID HE AGREED WITH ABOVE DESCRIPTION OF SCENARIO, BUT CLAIMED IT HAD BEEN UNDERSTOOD FROM VERY BEGINNING, AND ORALLY AGREED TO AT TIME OF SIGNING OF CONDITIONS OF CONSTRUCTION AGREEMENT IN 1972, THAT SOVIET PLANS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING CONFIDENTIAL

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UNIT ON MOUNT ALTO SITE WOULD BE "EXEMPT" FROM GENERAL SCENARIO; I.E., THAT SOVIET APARTMENTS, SCHOOL AND EMBASSY CLUB COULD BE BUILT AND OCCUPIED BEFORE REST OF EMBASSY COMPLEX WAS STARTED. THEY ARE READY TO SIGN AGREEMENT WITH THEIR CONTRACTOR ON THIS PART OF COMPLEX, WHICH HE CLAIMED IS ONLY ONE-FIFTH OF ENTIRE PROJECT, AND SOVIETS ARE HOPING TO HOLD COSTS TO BELOW THE \$10 MILLION THEY HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED. THEY HOPE TO SIGN FINAL CONTRACT BY SEPTEMBER 4, AFTER WHICH "EVERYTHING WILL GO UP." VORONTSOV SAID SOVIETS DO NOT INTEND TO START REMAINDER OF BUILDINGS (CONSULATE, OFFICE BUILDING AND REPRESENTATION BUILDING) AT THIS TIME AND MAY NOT

WISH TO DO SO UNTIL HOUSING UNITS COMPLETE.

5. GARRISON SAID THAT ON BASIS OF VORONTSOV'S  
REFERENCE TO "ORAL UNDERSTANDING" IN CONVERSATION

SOME DAYS AGO, WE HAD THOROUGHLY RESEARCHED THE  
QUESTION AND HAD FOUND NO RECORD OF AN UNDERSTANDING  
WHICH WOULD PERMIT EITHER SIDE TO START CONSTRUCTION  
ON ANY PART OF ITS PROJECT PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF  
CONSTRUCTION BY THE OTHER SIDE. AND NONE OF THE  
AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS RECALLED  
ANY SUCH UNDERSTANDING. PERHAPS THERE HAD BEEN A MIS-  
UNDERSTANDING STEMMING FROM THE PRINCIPLE SET FORTH  
IN THE AGREEMENT PERMITTING EARLY COMPLETION AND  
OCCUPANCY OF SOME PARTS OF THE PROJECTS. VORONTSOV  
SHOULD NOT MISUNDERSTAND THE USG POSITION, WHICH HAS  
BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE THAT CONSTRUCTION ON BOTH  
PROJECTS MUST START ON SAME DATE, BUT THAT ONCE CON-  
STRUCTION BEGINS, SOVIETS CAN CONCENTRATE ON HOUSING  
AND OCCUPY IT AS SOON AS COMPLETED.

6. FURTHER EXCHANGES EVOKED FOLLOWING POINTS FROM  
VORONTSOV:

-- A. EVEN IF SOVIETS PERMITTED TO GO AHEAD, US  
WOULD RETAIN A "HOSTAGE, -- THE REMAINING FOUR-  
FIFTHS OF THE SOVIET COMPLEX -- AS LEVERAGE IN MOSCOW;

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-- B. SOVIETS HAD PLANNED CAREFULLY TO MEET THEIR  
NEEDS AND SHOULD NOT BE PENALIZED FOR US SLOWNESS.

-- C. IF US SIDE "FORGOT" ORAL UNDERSTANDINGS,  
SOVIET SIDE WOULD ALSO FORGET SOME ORAL COMMITMENTS  
ON THINGS THE US WANTS.

-- D. IF MATTER NOT WORKED OUT BEFORE GROMYKO  
COMES TO UNGA, HE WOULD RAISE THE MATTER WITH THE  
SECRETARY AND WE SHOULD THEREFORE TAKE ANOTHER LOOK  
AT THE MATTER BEFORE THAT HAPPENS.

7. GARRISON MADE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS:

-- A. THERE IS STRONG FEELING IN USG AND CONGRESS  
THAT STRICT RECIPROCITY MUST BE FOLLOWED IN THESE  
MATTERS.

-- B. THIS FEELING HAS BEEN CREATED IN PART BY OUR  
PAST TREATMENT BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES.

-- C. OUR POSITION REMAINS AS STATED.

8. IN A CONVERSATION LATER THE SAME DAY WITH DEPUTY  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMITAGE, VORONTSOV SUMMARIZED

THE POINTS HE HAD MADE TO GARRISON, AND SAID THAT  
IF THE MATTER WERE NOT SETTLED, GROMYKO WOULD NO  
DOUBT BE RAISING IT WITH THE SECRETARY. ARMITAGE  
REPLIED THAT OUR APPROACH TO THE EMBASSY CONSTRUCTION  
PROBLEM WAS VERY MUCH COLORED BY OUR EXPERIENCE IN  
LENINGRAD. HE ALSO DREW ATTENTION TO CONGRESSIONAL  
INSISTENCE ON STRICT RECIPROCITY IN SUCH MATTERS. INGERSOLL

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